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ORATION

DELIVERED AT

FAYETTEVILLE, ARKANSAS,

BY

BRIG.-GEN. ALBERT W.^{ebb} BISHOP,

ADJUTANT-GENERAL OF THE STATE,

JULY 4, 1865.

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FAYETTEVILLE, ARK., July 4, 1865.

Brig.-Gen. A. W. BISHOP, A. G. State of Arkansas,—

GENERAL: In accordance with the resolution unanimously adopted by the very large and spirited meeting held to-day, and adding our own impression that publication of your address will accomplish much good, we would earnestly solicit a copy for the public.

We remain,

With high consideration and respect,

Your obedient servants,

ELIAS HARRELL,	} Committee.
<i>Chairman,</i>	
D. D. STARK,	
THOS. BROOKS,	
J. H. VAN HOOSE,	} Secretaries,
<i>Secretaries,</i>	

ST. LOUIS, MO., July 10, 1865.

MESSRS. ELIAS HARRELL, D. D. STARK, THOS. BROOKS, and J. H. VAN HOOSE, *Committee,—*

GENTLEMEN: I am in receipt of your favor requesting, for publication, a copy of the address delivered by me at Fayetteville, Arkansas, on the 4th inst. To this request I cheerfully respond, and in the hope that such publication may not be unproductive of the good which you have been pleased to express, the manuscript is placed at your disposal.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

A. W. BISHOP.

ORATION.

At Springfield, Missouri, three years ago to-day, there were scattered through an audience assembled in one of the beautiful groves that then encompassed that city, a few loyal men from Northwestern Arkansas.

There they could celebrate the anniversary of the natal day of freedom, but *here*, from whence they went, they could not, and sadly looking southward, they dispersed to their resting places, not their homes. "The Earth," however, "was not all bare, nor the Heavens empty." There was hope in the present even, and very soon, men, whom I see before me now, were marching hitherward to defend their rights and avenge their wrongs. The work proceeded slowly and wearily, but at last the days of rebellion have been numbered, and here, where earlier hours were passed, property acquired, and families reared, the loyal men of Northwestern Arkansas, are to-day assembled, to hallow the memory of three years of suffering, strife, and victory.

In February, 1862, a Texan Ranger, of more notoriety than fame, burned your college, swept otherwise through Fayetteville, as with the besom of destruction; wished you all "where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched," though a word of one syllable answered his purpose, and a month later fell at Pea Ridge, as black with the maledictions of this community, as the habit he is reputed to have worn.

The war had then been raging nearly a year, and yet your troubles were not so great, your losses so severe, as they were shortly to become. In 1861, the *virus* of secession worked more mildly, at all events loyal men in Arkansas were not so persecuted, as when rebels of even ordinary forecast saw, that every man in the South, capable of bearing arms, must come to the rescue of the new Confederacy, to save it from a fate as disastrous as sudden.

Prior to the passage of the ordinance of secession, the Union element in the State was very strong. There was an obvious disposition among the masses to still adhere to the "old Constitution." It was difficult to convince them that the North was disposed to be tyrannical. They had thus far enjoyed the blessings of a free Government. Every man's house was his castle, and there was really no foe besieging it.

The first inaugural of our lamented late Chief Magistrate, mourned to-day with a sorrow unequaled in prevalence and intensity, was eminently just to the South.

The rights of States were guaranteed not only, but the power of the Government was pledged to their enforcement. There was *no* occasion for this gigantic rebellion. Personal Liberty bills may have been passed by the Legislatures of some of the Northern States, in disregard of a provision of the Federal Constitution, the construction of which is generally agreed upon, but such action was either rescinded, or, by the people generally, considered unwise.

The Central Government was true to the grand, underlying instrument that has withstood the buffetings of three-quarters of a century, and whatever moralists may urge, or philanthropists condemn, the fundamental law of a nation must continue to be obeyed, while it is such. Our reverence for it should not be shattered by every theory set afloat, and yet grievances, if

there are any, are entitled to a calm and rational hearing, but judgment must not precede trial; and so far as Slavery, naturally suggested in this connection, is concerned, it was the most consummate folly in its friends to disregard the clear and emphatic utterances of President Lincoln.

A fungus upon the tree of liberty, Slavery might have survived to a greater age, but cut off as it has been, the wound will speedily be healed. That which was done to save has utterly destroyed, and the mad enthusiasm that four years ago fired on Sumter, and metamorphosed Legislatures into conferences of traitors, has been followed by the wail of States, and the complete and final overthrow of a great and dangerous heresy.

Circe sought to overcome Ulysses by offering him the medicated cup, and when he had drank of it, struck him with her wand, and bade him "go join his comrades in the sty," but his antidote was ready, and the fascinating enchantress was foiled. So likewise, have the leaders of public sentiment in the South held the fatal cup to the lips of their fellow-citizens, and though many drank and were ruined, the spell has been broken, and the wand of the enchantress transformed into the scourge of outraged law.

Not every scheme attractive in its inception, is destined to final success. It was easy for Jefferson Davis to resign his seat in the Senate of the United States four years ago, but for him ultimately to avoid the consequences of his treason, will be far more difficult.

As the head of a gigantic conspiracy, full of vigorous hate, he was a formidable antagonist, but fleeing through Southern Georgia, and donning wrapper and shawl, to avoid capture, he dwindles into the most ludicrous insignificance. The Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, sitting at Montgomery, in February, 1861, was a dignified body, and naturally

enough gave great cause for alarm ; but its successor, closing its sessions at Richmond, a few months ago, under the pressure of loyal bayonets, and scattering Southward, as chaff blown by the wind, was as harmless as a dove.

The logic of events is decisive, nor is it necessary that its teachings should be the slow growth of centuries. A single Presidential term, under our form of Government, may be dotted thickly with great occurrences, and so was it with the administrations of President Lincoln.

The first, beginning in doubt and discouragement, the latter terminated tragically indeed, for him, but grand beyond comparison in the magnificent triumph of a great and holy cause. In that triumph, fellow-citizens, our State shares, and has a right to share. She rebelled, indeed ; those entrusted mainly with the administration of her affairs were led astray by a bitter prejudice, and an unsoundness of doctrine, yet thousands of her citizens have battled manfully for the Stars and Stripes, since the first feeble *exodi* were made from Batesville to Rolla, and Northwestern Arkansas to Springfield. Pardon me, then, if I rehearse a little State and local history, with which the most, if not all of you, are familiar.

On the 15th of January, 1861, Henry M. Reector, then Governor of the State, approved "an act to provide for a State Convention," the principal object of which, in the language of the act itself, was to "take into consideration the condition of political affairs, and determine what course the State of Arkansas should pursue in the present political crisis."

On the 18th of February, 1861, the election of delegates to this convention was held, and, notwithstanding the perpetration of numerous frauds, and the obvious efforts of many in authority to create a public sentiment hostile to the maintenance of

the Union, a majority of these delegates were opposed to secession.

On the 4th of March, the convention met at Little Rock, and after a violent session of two weeks, adjourned without accomplishing the secession of the State. Commissioners duly accredited, were present from Georgia and South Carolina, bringing with them as the weapons of their diplomatic warfare, ordinances of secession passed by these States respectively, and who were instructed also, to invite the co-operation of this convention in forming a Southern Confederacy. The commission issued by the Governor of South Carolina, was dated on the 1st day of January, A. D. 1861, and in the "eighty-fifth year of the sovereignty and independence" of that State. The intense secessionism of South Carolinians cropped out thus, as usual, and with the other appliances, brought to bear at this convention, had a marked effect upon public sentiment in Arkansas.

An ordinance was passed and approved, however, providing for holding an election in the State, on the 5th day of August, 1861, at which the sense of the people was to be taken upon the question of "co-operation" or "secession;" and just before the adjournment of the convention, another ordinance was adopted, providing, that should an exigency arise, between the passage of the ordinance first referred to, and the 19th day of August, 1861 (when, by the terms of the adjournment, the convention was to re-assemble), for its earlier convocation, it could, by proclamation, or otherwise, be re-convened by the President thereof.

A few weeks later occurred the attack on Fort Sumter, and President Lincoln's call for 75,000 men. The "exigency" was now considered to have arisen; coercion was the cry of avowed rebels and timorous Union men, and the Hon. David Walker,

president of the convention, and a citizen of this county, called the convention for the 6th of May.

The proceedings of this body, fellow citizens, I do not propose to recall. The country knows that on that day the State of Arkansas assumed to secede from the Union, and *you* know that that act was the "direful spring" of all your woes. The question of "co-operation" or "secession" was never submitted to the people, and the Summer of 1861, as elsewhere in the United States, passed away amid the din of arms.

By the 1st of November, Arkansas had sent nearly 20,000 men into the rebel army. The Union forces had been checked at Bull Run and Wilson Creek, and quite generally throughout the State the enthusiasm of the people ran high in behalf of the new-born Confederacy. The beliefs of many, nevertheless, were purely the creatures of the hour, and they were not animated by a deadly and persistent hostility to the Federal Government. Not so with their leaders, civil as well as military. The rebellion was the *denouement* of a plot they had been maturing for years. The ghost of Calhoun had appeared with its spectral beckonings, and they followed it as Hamlet his father's, eager, persistent, *mad*. The successes of the first year of the war were the text of a thousand sermons, and from a few dearly-bought victories were drawn inferences the most extravagant.

Henry M. Rector, then Governor of this State, was especially inclined to jubilation, and perhaps exceeded all other officials in the Confederacy in the peculiarly exultant character of his public utterances. In a message to the General Assembly, called together in extra session in November, 1861, he expatiates as follows: "To our gallant sons and countrymen who survive the bloody fields of Manassas and Springfield, the country owes its gratitude. The victory at Springfield aroused the drooping spirits of our friends in Missouri, and emboldened

them for the brilliant achievement at Lexington. The tide of war still sets strongly against the vandal forces, and with the aid of Providence, *we will drive them into the current of the Mississippi, whose turbid waters may serve to hide them from the vengeance of an oppressed and outraged people.*"

Alas! the vanity of rebel predictions. The Father of Waters still goes "unvexed to the sea." The "tide of war" has been strangely perverse, and the "vandal forces" have shown a very decided aversion to making the acquaintance of the turbid waters of the Mississippi under the humiliating circumstances predicted.

But not alone in malediction of this description did this valiant Governor indulge. He had a wonderful insight into the future, and made predictions with the ease of the prophets of old. Notwithstanding the immediate pressure of war on a gigantic scale, "the axe-helves and painted buckets" of Massachusetts had transferred their allegiance to Arkansas, and the busy hum of mechanical industry, shut out from "Yankee cunning and device," was inducing one of the most desirable results that could flow from a separate nationality—encouragement to men of small means, mechanics, artisans, and others, who earn their bread in the sweat of their brows. Nay more, this result, according to the Governor, was induced much sooner by "Mr. Lincoln's Blockade, than it could have been without it;" "and so soon," he further says, "as the bitter fruits of experience shall induce them (the Yankees) to open the channels of international commerce, a discriminating tariff will turn the bows of their steamers as effectually as a ten-inch columbiad. All in all—our liberties won—the era of 1861, is as much a blessing to the South, as was that of Seventy-Six to the Colonies."

Thus much for the material prosperity of Arkansas, as seen

through the medium of a disloyal State paper. The alarming character of the contest, would still present itself. Banquo's ghost was not half so obtrusive, and while the ides of this November were setting in, the clouds of war were slowly darkening. "Manassas and Springfield" had borne no fruits, and the necessity for forcing every fighting man into the ranks, became daily more imperative.

On this subject, also, Governor Rector enlarges thus: "A sacred obligation rests upon every able-bodied man to assist in defending his country, when his services are required. If he believes the cause of the South is an unjust one, he ought to emigrate. If he is too cowardly to take up arms to defend his country, *he ought to pray God to kill him.*"

Alas! the perverseness of the invocations of Union men! They neither prayed God to kill them, nor did they bow before this Moloch of public sentiment. If moral courage be cowardice, according to this trenchant defender of a wide-spreading usurpation, then indeed were Union men craven; if the fact that they were still unreconciled to the attempted secession of the State was treasonable, then surely were they enemies of the Confederacy. They were not "too cowardly to take up arms to defend their country," but they understood the term very differently from Henry M. Rector. It had with them no synonym in the vaunted phrase "A Southern Confederacy," but all its honors, triumphs, and glories, were wreathed about the starry old banner, on whose ample folds they had inscribed those words, possessing now a deeper significance than ever,—
"The Union, the Constitution, and the Laws."

But neither gubernatorial bluster, nor the ire of newspapers, could awe them longer, especially in this section of the State, and in silence, but resolutely, they prepared for the contest. The air had hardly ceased to throb with the pulsations of Forts

Henry and Donelson, when around the little old Tavern on Pea Ridge centered the wrath of contending armies, and the smoke of battle had scarcely cleared away, when from the hills and the valleys, the caves and the woods, came forth in rags and in sorrow the Union men of Arkansas.

I remember well their first appearance at Springfield. I was a stranger to them then, and I wondered at that constancy to the Government of their Fathers, which had caused them to suffer so much.

It was my fortune at this time, through the kindness of Col. Harrison, to become connected with the first organized regiment of Arkansas Volunteers in the Union army.

On the 10th of July, 1862, I entered on duty, and, as many before me will remember, the first battalion, the only one then mustered, participated that afternoon in a brigade review. With me, fellow-citizens, this was a day never to be forgotten. At 10 o'clock in the morning I first saw in line my future comrades in arms, and the most of them for the first time under any circumstances, and as I looked along their front, rough with the travail of the forest, ununiformed and unarmed, yet orderly and attentive, I thought of the dark days of the Revolution, of Long Island, and Valley Forge, and I silently admired that firmness of purpose, that devotion to yonder flag, which, in spite of the relentless persecution of misguided men, was so firm and so hopeful.

We were assigned to a position in the right wing of the brigade, near the head of the line, and I felt a strange pride in marching those undisciplined men to the field, where many of the heroes of the old army of the Southwest stood ready to receive them.

There were the strong and the weak, the young and the old, the sick and the well, yet on they tramped, not altogether

in time with the inspiring tones of drum and fife, but with hearts attuned to that nobler music, which in war and peace, in thrift and adversity, animates the loyal men of the nation, and throws around the Ark of our Country's Covenant, the inspiring presence of a Divine sanction.

To Brig.-Gen. E. B. Brown, then commanding the District of Southwestern Missouri, let all honor be accorded for the encouragement he gave to those struggling loyalists from a rebellious State. Unlike some others, he did not regard their entrance within the Federal lines with distrust. The burning of a man's house, by an enemy of the Government, is very poor proof of the disloyalty of its owner. Walking hundreds of miles through woods and ravines, never touching a highway but to cross it, lying concealed by day, and following the north star by night to avoid capture by rebels, will never convict a man of treason; and General Brown had the good sense and discernment to see that the patience, zeal, and endurance of Northwestern Arkansas deserved encouragement.

And now, fellow-citizens, bear with me while I allude briefly to the various regiments the State has sent into the service.

The First Cavalry was organized, as the most of you are aware, in the spring and summer of 1862, and I shall take occasion to say now and here, that great credit is due to Col. Harrison for his indefatigable exertions in its behalf, and to the Hon. John S. Phelps, of Missouri, for his labors at Washington, resulting in the issuance, by the War Department, of a special order for the raising of this regiment.

Following the battle of Prairie Grove, and the occupation of Fayetteville by the Union forces, the First Infantry and First Battery were raised, and in the autumn and winter of 1863, the Second and Third Cavalry, and the Second Infantry. Recruiting for the

Fourth Cavalry began in 1864, but its organization was not completed until early in the present year. The raising of other regiments has been undertaken, but the men enlisted were subsequently consolidated with existing commands or have left the service.

Into greater detail, historically, I will not enter, save to say, that the gentlemen—some from the State, others from the North—entrusted with the organization of these various commands, are entitled to great credit for their zeal and success in so materially giving form and effectiveness to the loyalty of the State. My relation to its troops has been, and still is, such, that I would hardly be expected to speak of their conduct in those terms of praise that would more properly come from some other person, and yet neither inclination nor duty should allow me, in this hour of National joy to pass entirely, without comment, their bearing under circumstances of trial and suffering that the soldiers from the Northern States have not been compelled to undergo.

They were the neighbors, the relatives of rebels. They saw the wealth, the talent, the industry of the State go to a great extent into the rebellion. While civilians they had no leaders, and of consequence no organization. Like the Earth when God spake it into existence, they were politically “without form, and void,” and darkness was indeed upon the face of the Deep; but the spirit of the Lord moved at length upon the waters, and the dawn of a bright and hopeful day now broke in upon their sufferings and trials. They found men willing to take them by the hand, and, making common cause, go forth into a scene of strife, which, from the very nature of the case, was one of peculiar peril. Loyal Arkansians were the especial aversion of the disloyal citizens of the State, and they were subjected to every

indignity that the most bitter hate could devise. The opprobrious epithet "tory" was sounded in their ears. They were the victims of the most relentless persecution in every form, and when at last, to defend their altars and their fires, they entered the service of their Government, it was the last hope of a fearfully harassed but not a despondent people. They had discerned a glimmer of light in the troubled present, and through it caught the glimpse of a glorious future, the shadowy temple of a new nation, and they struggled toward it with all the eagerness and enthusiasm of the pilgrim in that beautiful allegorical representation of the voyage of life, when looking forward from the frail bark that bears him on, he sees the pearly gates of the New Jerusalem and almost hears the angelic music of its eternal inhabitants.

Nor were their longings vain. They soon became intensely practical, and before the frosts of autumn had mellowed the forests, which they had left in the fullness of their early verdure, the First Cavalry were demonstrating southward from Springfield, and returning with an interest twice compounded, those blows that had severed them from home and happiness, fireside and family. As time rolled on, the remarkable events of this extraordinary war kept even pace with it, and the progress of the Nation's arms, East and West, gave added stimulus to this accession to national strength. The Union men of Arkansas, in increasing numbers, thronged into Missouri and gathered about military posts. The organization of one regiment followed another; Prairie Grove gave in its contribution. The occupation of Little Rock, and Fort Smith theirs, and soon the high hopes of the people took form and shape in the reconstruction of a State Government.

To the origin and growth of this movement, fellow-citizens, I now desire to call your attention. On the re-occupation of

Northwestern Arkansas by the Army of the Frontier, in December, 1862, large and very encouraging mass meetings were held here and at Huntsville, as many of you will remember, the people showing a most earnest desire for a restoration of their old relations to the Union. Not long afterwards, similar meetings were held at Helena, and to go back a moment to the summer of 1862, the march of General Curtis's army from Pea Ridge to the Mississippi, was the occasion for enthusiastic demonstrations of loyalty, especially at Batesville, in the northern central portion of the State, where hundreds of her citizens filed into the Union ranks.

October 30th, 1863, the people moved again at Fort Smith, and in a manner well known in this community. At the meeting then held the vigorous prosecution of the war was urged; the course of the Administration in their efforts to suppress the late rebellion approved; the repeal of all laws sanctioning Slavery proposed, and a convention for the purpose of re-organizing the State Government recommended. Col. James M. Johnson, First Arkansas Infantry, was nominated to represent Western Arkansas in Congress, and shortly afterwards elected. The validity of this election was subsequently recognized in the schedule forming part of the new Constitution of the State, yet to obviate any objections that might possibly be urged thereto, it was deemed advisable that a second election should take place when the new Constitution of the State was to be voted upon by the people. This was accordingly done, and Col. Johnson was again elected.

All these, and many other manifestations in fact, of the popular will took place, it will be observed, prior to the issuance of the President's Proclamation, providing for the re-organization of loyal governments in the rebellious States, and when the

people had no intimation of the course he afterwards saw fit to pursue.

On the 20th day of January, 1864, President Lincoln addressed Major-General Steele, then commanding the department of Arkansas, upon the subject of State organization, directing him, in response to sundry citizens of Arkansas, to order an election for the 28th of March then next ensuing, to be held at the usual places in the State, or all such as voters might attend for that purpose, at which (the election), and thenceforward, it was to be assumed that the Constitution and Laws of the State, as before the rebellion, were in full force, except that the former should be so modified, as to declare that there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in the punishment of crime, whereof the party should have been convicted; that all persons qualified by said Constitution and Laws, and taking the oath presented in the President's proclamation of December 8th, 1863, either before or at the election, and none others, should be voters; that judges and clerks should make returns to the Secretary of State; that in all other respects this election should be conducted according to the said Constitution and Laws, and that when, on the receipt of said returns, it should appear that 5,406 votes had been cast (one-tenth of the electoral vote of 1860), these votes were to be received, and on the appearing at Little Rock, of the persons ascertained to be elected thereby, and taking an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and the said modified Constitution of the State of Arkansas, they were to be declared qualified and empowered to enter immediately upon the discharge of the duties of their respective offices. The time for holding this election was subsequently changed to the 14th, 15th, and 16th days of March, when it was held as gener-

ally throughout the State, as the condition of the country would allow.

The policy of the "ten per cent. system" as it has been invidiously called, in the re-construction of State Governments, has been severely attacked, but whether premature or not, it is now too late to enquire. It was obviously important as early as the issuance of the President's proclamation of December 8th, 1863, bearing in part upon this subject, that all the encouragement possible should be given to the struggling loyalists of the rebellious States, and the progress of the national arms was in fact such as to warrant an attempt to restore civil law.

Especially was this true in Arkansas, and when the announcement came that an election was to be held, it was received with general joy. On the days of March last alluded to, the election was held, and 12,177 votes were cast for the present free Constitution of the State, and only 226 against it. Members of a Legislature were elected from 46 of the 54 counties of the State, and in many instances, county organizations were perfected. Though military forces were stationed here and there throughout the State, the action of the people was free and unrestrained, especially in Northwestern Arkansas, where, in many precincts, the people assembled together as in time of peace. An occasional constituency was composed of citizens of a county, temporarily out of it for the simple reason that their loyalty had rendered it impossible for them to remain at home, but their intention was honest, their right to act undoubted, and it were better thus by far, than that there should have been no re-construction at all. The *loyal* citizens of the State participated almost universally in this election, and no sane man will insist that those in arms against the Government, or in any manner giving aid and comfort to the rebellion, should also have been permitted to vote. The hostility of the bal-

lot-box was not to be added to that of the field or the council chamber, and the doubtful patriotism of non-combatants within the rebel lines, who had been temporizing more or less for three years, the loyal citizens of the State were under no obligations to consult. They, nevertheless, threw wide the polls to all who availed themselves of the President's amnesty, and evinced no malicious disposition to enquire into the antecedents of those who did so. The Legislature shortly assembled at Little Rock, and on the 18th of April, 1864, the Hon. Isaac Murphy, of Madison County, Governor elect, was inaugurated. And thus the new State organism began the exercise of its functions. It was indeed the Government of a fractional part of the people of Arkansas—one-fourth of the electors of 1860—but this rebellion has played sad havoc with whole numbers, and the great question of re-construction cannot be settled upon the basis of the census of five years gone. The loyal people of a rebellious State, be their number great or small, are the appropriate custodians of political power.

They are the State, and around them should gather the elements of social and material growth, as one by one they spring up from battle-fields and crop out of confusion. Nor should these States be retained in a condition of pupillage until their old citizens, who followed the false fires of secession, shall return and submit to the new order of things. The sacrifices, the constancy, the heroism of the Union men of the South are entitled to encouragement not only, but reward. They are the germ of a new development—a new power, and one which to grow well must grow by accretion.

In our own State, fellow-citizens, 12,000 of these men have ordained and established an Anti-Slavery Constitution, and they will be abundantly able, with the additional strength that time and circumstance are giving them, to maintain it. It would be

idle, nevertheless, to say that they have met with no discouragements.

Why Congress has failed to recognize our organization, it would be tedious to explain, and therefore I will simply say, that while recognition has not taken place, no adverse action has been had, and we have strong reasons for believing that the 39th Congress will do us that justice which we failed to obtain from the 38th.

But whether recognized or not, we do not propose to fold our arms and await the issue of events at Washington. David Crockett's mantle fell sufficiently near Arkansas to enable us to catch it up, and knowing we are right, throw it about us and "go ahead." The problem of capacity for self-government does not necessarily require for its solution the interposition of Congressional aid, but of course all are anxious for the time when representation in Congress will be permitted. But the future aside; there is work to be done now, and the State authorities and the people are doing it. In April last, for the third time since the new Government was set in motion, the Legislature met entirely at their own expense, and ratified unanimously the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States. A short time prior to this event, such a militia system as the condition of the State seemed to require, and of which its circumstances would admit, was created by Major-General Reynolds, commanding the Department of Arkansas, and Governor Murphy, acting in concert, the latter having been for some months encouraging the plan of colonization, and directing the attention of different neighborhoods to this method of self-protection.

In character, it was two-fold—agricultural and military—those who adopted it being expected to engage principally in farming and other industrial pursuits, and to fight only when necessary for the defense of their immediate neighborhoods.

The plan was substantially colonization, and in this section of the State, let me say, that under the wise management of Colonel Harrison, you, to some extent, anticipated the joint action at Little Rock, and prior to the issuance of regular Commissions, were making flattering progress in restoring peace and quiet to Northwestern Arkansas. Fortunately the same spirit now prevails very generally throughout the State, and men are awaking from four years of rebellion, anarchy and bloodshed, to hold the plough and swing the scythe.

Citizens who have been exiles from their homes for the last three years, are moving southward from "the line of the Arkansas," and counties that have never yet seen a Federal soldier in uniform, will only see him now as a State militiaman. The system is spreading, and like the banyan tree, dropping its branches to the ground, is binding the extremities of the State to the centre, and taking root in a soil from which it is fondly hoped the last trace of secession will speedily be withdrawn.

Nearly every county in the State has its organization, and civil law, as if eager to atone for the disastrous silence of the last four years, is keeping even pace with the militia movement. Sheriffs and constables are resuming their functions. Courts and juries are emerging from social disorder, and that trade which is born of hazard, and thrives on the calamities of a people, is being succeeded by a wider diffusion and reduced prices.

Arkansas, fellow-citizens, is in the travail of a new birth. Four years of war and outrage, rapine and murder, have just passed into history. That peculiar form of civilization which results from the ownership of labor by capital, is now a dead type. The negro is no longer a chattel. The inexorable logic of events has decreed his freedom. The proclamation of emancipation, fulminated as a war measure, will be adhered to as one of the strong bulwarks of peace. The year of jubilee has

indeed come, but there is no millennium of listless ease in store for the colored race. They must learn to work for themselves, and learn at once. The commissariat will very soon cease its stomachic charities. The purlieus of camps will no longer afford them shelter and raiment. Under the wise and beneficent management of the Freedman's Bureau, thousands are already self-sustaining, and the great problem "what shall be done with the negroes?" is rapidly solving itself. Of the army they are an honorable and important part. Their discipline is superior, their valor unquestionable, and by their general conduct under arms, they have fairly earned the nation's respect. Still the course to be pursued towards them in matters civil and political, is not free from perplexity. Their freedom—a priceless boon—has already been secured, but to follow this with hasty and indiscriminate legislation, would be neither politic nor wise.

Rights of person and property should be guaranteed, but the question of suffrage, the treatment of which each State reserves to itself, should be approached with caution. Revolutions beget great changes, and not intrequently the movers in them, by intemperate action, defeat the cause they labor to subserve. The fruits of victory cannot all be gathered in a day. Passions must be allowed to cool, prejudices to vanish, and in this great transition period of American life, civil, social and political, the sure advances must be made one by one. Errors in existing laws are no excuse for their repetition, and suffrage to the negro, whatever it may have been, or now is, to the white man, should be made to depend upon his conduct and intelligence, conferring it first upon the soldier. But I drop a question not of paramount importance, at least, in this section of the State. In Northwestern Arkansas there are other interests to consider, and other persons to care for. War, in its deso-

lating march, has swept again and again through Fayetteville; the torch and the axe have scarred the country for miles around; a large proportion of those before me have, at one time or another during this most iniquitous rebellion, been compelled to leave their homes, and now, when it has been crushed, and the glad songs of peace are echoing over the hills, it is eminently proper that those who are or are to become citizens of the State, should survey well the field of their future operations.

A new era of light, of joy, of hope, is dawning upon the Commonwealth. The old order of things is dead. The inspiring agencies of a more enlightened civilization have begun their work. The depressing influence of chattel Slavery upon the industry of the State—apologize for it as men will—has been swept away by the shock of armies. The plow, the loom, and the spindle will have an added dignity. The mechanic and the laborer will, to no trifling extent, leave New England, great as she has become in the arts of peace, for the more genial clime and the higher wages of the South. Factories will follow the demand for their workmanship. Your streams will be bridged where fords have been thought sufficient. The extraordinary mineral wealth of the State will be developed; the great productiveness of its valley lands will invite a population hitherto unknown; the hot springs southwest of Little Rock, the American pool of Bethesda, will attract that attention which their marvelous properties so eminently deserve, and the pear, the peach and the grape will vie with each other in the variety of their richness, and the luxuriance of their growth.

This, fellow-citizens, is no fancy sketch. The dawn of the reality is even now breaking. The colonization system so successfully prosecuted in this section of the State, is imparting a new energy to the people, and the apprehension of starvation

having been removed, the ravages of war will soon disappear. The same cheering indications are seen in other portions of the State. Law and order are superseding anarchy and confusion, and soon within every county, justice will sit enthroned, and the majesty of her presence will secure the obedience of the people.

Those returning inhabitants who have been in rebellion, and now desire to become good citizens of the United States Government, should be received fraternally. "With malice towards none, with charity for all," let us prosecute the great work of re-construction, yet remembering always, that the sufferings, the trials, and the *claims* of those who have been thoroughly and persistently loyal, entitle them to a precedence in this behalf that should not be overlooked.

President Johnson's proclamation of amnesty and pardon is acceptable to the nation. While it is severe it is just, while restricted, generous, and even those within the excepted classes cannot complain of its terms. They staked their all upon the success of the rebellion, lives, fortunes and sacred honor, and if they do not ultimately go down as it has gone, they must attribute their safety to the clemency of the Executive of the United States.

But let the dead bury the dead. The American nation must now be especially intent upon the future. The war is over. The Armies of the Potomac, the Tennessee, and of Georgia, have marched northward through Richmond. "Io Triumphe" has been sung, and the vine and the fig-tree are now dancing before the grim-visaged warriors, who but yesterday tramped through the streets of Washington.

But, oh! the sacrifice. The slain in battle; the sick and wounded in hospital; the starved and dying at Salisbury and Andersonville, and the nameless graves that followed them; the dead heroes who strew the ground from the Potomac to New

Orleans, and above all, that overwhelming calamity, a murdered President, tell in saddest tones the great tribulation through which we have passed. Nearly the last act of rebellion, it overshadows them all in atrocity, and was most fearfully ill-timed. Had it taken place even six months earlier there would not have been wanting in the vaunted Confederacy apologists for its enormity, but occurring when it did, it shocked the sensibilities of men of honor the world over, and has covered the name of John Wilkes Booth with everlasting infamy and disgrace.

Yet the body alone is dead. The spirit that informed it can never die, and while men have memories, and the earth is habitable, the "Illinois Lawyer" will be remembered as the controlling mind in an unparalleled crisis; a great Nation's hope in her severest trial, and the world's exemplar in all that is patient, self-sacrificing and patriotic;

" From fame-leaf and angel-leaf,
From monument and urn,
The sad of Earth, the glad of Heaven,
His tragic fate shall learn;
And on fame-leaf and angel-leaf
His name shall ever burn."

A moment now with the living and I have done. That arch-traitor, Jefferson Davis, has at last been caught in the meshes of his own folly, and if justice still dwells in her chosen habitation, he will expiate his crimes with his life. The head and front of a gigantic rebellion, whose astounding rashness stands out unequalled in the history of wars, he should be made an abiding example of punitive law. Clemency to some is only commendable in the light of punishment to others. The same Heavens that drop the "gentle dew" of mercy, thunder forth the wrath of an avenging God, and the adminis-

tration of human affairs would be worse than senseless, if the force of a law is to be measured by the scope of a pardon.

The world differ in the views held of this rebellion. Russia has been true to us from the beginning, and the instincts of the continental masses generally have led them to the warm espousal of the cause of the Government. But not so the crowned heads of France and England, who, with all their neutrality, fed the baleful fires of treason, and turned a comparatively deaf ear to the protestations of our representatives abroad, at least until the fortunes of the "Confederacy" were past recuperation. Good faith is public as well as private, and the time may come when the royal author of the "History of Julius Cæsar," and "*Victoria Regnans*" will regret the hollowness of their fraternity, and their poor estimate of our resources.

The strength of the American Nation has indeed been sorely tried. It has passed through the "ordeal of fire," and the "baptism of blood," but to-day is informed with a more vigorous life than the past was able to secure. The enormous debt even, incurred by the war, is by no means destructive of national credit. We owe ourselves mainly, and it is for the people to say when the obligation shall be canceled. Science and art, trade and industry, will gather additional strength. The waste places of the South will be made glad with intelligent labor. The passions and the prejudices of the time will pass away, and of the Nation will be spoken the olden prophecy: "The glory of Lebanon shall come unto thee; the fir tree, the pine tree and the box together to beautify the place of my sanctuary; and I will make the place of my feet glorious. The sons also of them that afflicted thee shall come bending unto thee; and all they that despised thee shall bow themselves down at the soles of thy feet, and they shall call thee the city of the Lord, the Zion of the Holy One of Israel."



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